REASONS FOR A Limited Exportation OF WOOLL.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

Printed in the Year, 1677.

18...885

REflecting with great reſentment on the juſt complaints of the Land-lords and Tenants of this Nation, who attribute one of the greateſt originals of their miſery to the cheapnes of their VVooll; I began to think of ſome remedy to this diſeaſe; which tho 'tis not in my power to cure, yet to propoſe the means to ſuch as can, I am not forbid. But finding my deſign oppoſed by ſeveral Pamphlets under the name of W. C. *and chiefly by one he calls* Englands Intereſt. *I have here indeavour'd to winnow his handful of Corn from the abundance of chaff; and reducing his whole diſcourſe to a few propoſitions, with ſome objections and anſwers; I do willingly grant him thoſe which follow.*

1. SINCE the time of *E.* 3. (the founder of the Woollen-manufacture) the trade of Wool. hath bin one of the cheifeſt riches of this Nation: it emploies many perſons, brings many profitable returns, encreaſes the Shipping, &c.

2. On the contrary, the diminution of this manufacture is diſadvantagious to many families and to the Nation; by not making the greateſt advantage of the ſuperfluity of a Native commodity, &c. and tho this be granted,

Yet I cannot acknowledge that a Manufacture maketh fewer poor, but rather the contrary. For tho it ſets the poor on work where it finds them, yet it draws ſtill more to the place: and their Maſters allow wages ſo mean, that they are only preſerved from ſtarving whilſt they can

 work;

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

work; when Age, Sickneſs, or death comes: themſelves, their Wives, or their Children are moſt commonly left upon the Pariſh. Which is the reaſon why thoſe Towns (as in the *Weald* of *Kent*) whence the Clothing is departed, have fewer poor then they had before.

3. The profit ariſing by the Tranſportation of a Manufacture is much greater (ſuppoſing equal vent) then that of unwrought materials. Art increaſing the value ſo much as the thing wrought is more uſeful, and the working laborious.

4. The tranſportation of Wool is a benefit to others (as all things vented to forreiners are, who elſe would not buy them) it encreaſeth their manufactures, giving other Nations the advantages we wiſh to our ſelves; and particularly it much profits the *French*, helping them to work out their own courſe Wool, &c.

5. It were therefore to be wiſhed and all endeavours ought to be uſed, that our ſuperfluous wool (which we ſpend not our ſelves) might be vented in Manufacture, and not in the Crude material. Tho I cannot be informed, this was ever yet done in *England*, yet I wiſh honeſt induſtrious workmen would bring it to paſs.

II. But all theſe being granted, the queſtion ſtill remains; whether, ſince the manufacture of our ſuperfluous wool cannot be vended abroad, it were not better to permit the Wool unwrought to be tranſported, with ſuch limitations as may be leaſt detrimental to the Kingdom?

And this we affirm.

1. Becauſe, otherwiſe a profitable commodity will be utterly waſted; and ſo not the manufacturer only, but the Farmer and Land-lord alſo, will be ſo very much damnified; that the one cannot pay his rent, nor the other ſuſtain the Taxes. And is not this the cheifeſt, if not the ſole, reaſon of ſinking our Rents, throwing up Farmes, and the miſery of the whole Country?

Now that it is the greateſt concern and Intereſt of the Nation, to preſerve the Nobility, Gentry and thoſe to whom the Land of this Country belongs; at leaſt much greater then a few Artificers employed in working the ſuperfluity of our Wool, or the Merchants who gain by the exportation of our manufacture; is manifeſt, 1. Becauſe they are Maſters and proprietaries of the foundation of all the wealth in this Nation, all profit ariſing out of the Ground, which is theirs. 2. Becauſe they bear all the Taxes and publick burthens: which in truth are only born by thoſe who buy and ſell not; all ſellers raiſing the price of their commodities, or abating of their goodnes, according to their taxes. 3. Becauſe they maintain great families, which conduce much to the conſumption of our Manufactures, many People relying upon them: and perhaps as many as upon Cloth-working. 4. Becauſe they muſt of neceſſity bear all Magiſtracies and publick employments (how burthenſome ſoever) and are the only hindrances of the confuſion which would follow upon equality. Whereas ordinary working perſons may, if one employment fail, preſently undertake another without any great inconvenience or detriment. Now then ſuppoſe wool fall to 3d per pound (as it muſt in a ſhort time, if not prevented) the price of all Land in *England* muſt likewiſe fall; there being not one Acre which produceth not Wool (ploughed-lands at leaſt from Harveſt to Seed-time and longer when they ly fallow:) conſequently the Taxes (which now are generally on Land, and ever proportioned to the Rent, the ancient manner of taxing by tenths and 15s being of late out of uſe, much to the advantage of the Uſurer, but to the prejudice of the Country Gentleman) will be alſo leſſened when they come into the Kings Coffers: yet the conſtant charges of the Kingdom do not leſſen. Therefore our Taxes muſt be ſtill oftner renewed, & the Land-lords charge yet more increaſed, but his means of diſcharging diminiſhed,

niſhed; and he muſt pay the more, the more he is diſabled. A hard caſe, yet inevitable, unleſs the *King* and Parliament pleaſe to apply a ſpeedy remedy. Thus muſt our Nobility and Gentry be forced to live at a meaner rate (who live alas too meanly in their Countries already) break up Houſe-keeping, maintain fewer Servants, leſs Hoſpitality, &c. Which has already ſome what, and will in time, as eminently, leſſen the Kingdom as tranſportation of Wool, or perhaps any one thing can do.

2. By hindring exportation of Wool, pray y' conſider the great loſs this poor Nation ſuſtains. I ſhall inſtance in *Romney* and its neighbouring levels, which contain about 44000 Acres; each acre, one with another, in *Romney-Marſh* feeds three Sheep (beſides other Stock) at the leaſt, ſuppoſe then we rate the whole Level thus; there will be found 132000 Sheep; whereof 300 fleeces will at the leaſt make 4. Packs of good Wool (240 pound to the Pack:) ſo then there are yearly ſhorne 1760. Packs, each of which were, formerly, conſtantly ſold for 12 pound. In the year, 1647. (when exportation of Wool was firſt prohibited) it was ſold for 15. pound; the year after (by reaſon of the great Rot added to the mighty deſtruction of Sheep in the Wars) it was ſold for 16. pound *per* Pack. but the mortality of Sheep being recovered, yet the prohibition continuing, Wool has almoſt every year ſince abated of its price, and now there are divers perſons, who have 4. and ſome 5. Years Wool upon their hands, not being able to get above 4^{d} or 5^{d} *per* pound that is, 4 or 5. pound a Pack for it: and I hear it has been ſold this very Year in ſome places but for 3. pound 10^{s} *per* Pack. Thus by the moſt modeſt computation, and ſuch as no Man can gain-ſay, there is loſt upon every Pack of Wool 7 pound. which, ſuppoſing all the Wool of that Level ſold, it is evident 12320. pound is quite loſt every year in that little place only: which is very near 6^{s} *per* Acre throo the whole Level, loſt in the Rent. By which pray y' judge how many Millions

ons are yearly loſt throo all *England* by this want of a limited exportation. Who then can ſhew ſo much cruelty as to blame poor People, who to prevent ſome of this damage do adventure to help theinſelves by exportation? tho they had much rather be content with a moderate price in their own Country.

And truly tis no wonder that *W. C.* complains of the difficulty and impoſſibility of hindring Exportation, yet glories of his diligence in ruining ſo many poor and induſtrious Perſons for doing what he confeſſeth impoſſible to hinder. But our Superiours may conclude, ſince *tis* either impoſſible, or extream difficult, to hinder Exportation, and that there may ariſe troubles (as ſome have been killed) for indeavouring it, it is much better and more natural to permit Exportation under the moſt advantageous terms their wiſdom ſhall think fit. For in truth is it not very abſurd to imagine, that becauſe we cannot make ſo much of our Wool as poſſibly may be made, that therefore we muſt make nothing of it? like ſome perverſe and obſtinate Land-lords, who chuſe rather to looſe all their Rent then abate the leaſt part of it.

3. A limited Exportation will be more for the advantage of our own Woollen-trade, and leſs for that beyond Sea, then the hindring of it has been. For if ſtrangers might come hither to buy the Wool, tho they bought greater quantities, yet ſhould they pay dearer for it, then they do at preſent: and the dearer their Commodities are, the dearer muſt they ſell their manufacture, conſequently the more eaſily we may beat them out of their Trade. For when a poor Man (none elſe now will venture to tranſport it) comes with a fraight of Wool into *France* or elſe where, they make him take their own price for it; his neceſſities and his danger forbid him carying home his Marchandize as well as ſtaying there to contend for a better price: but being ſlenderly paid for his charges, and little or nothing for his pains and hazard, returning thinks he comes off very well whilſt undiſcovered.

yet

(Yet to have the names of Merchants, and to gain perhaps ſomtimes more then 12d a day to live with more eaſe tho with greater hazzard; poſſibly ſome may ſtill be invited to continue this traffick notwithſtanding any the ſevereſt prohibition) After this manner ſtrangers now, and will hereafter, have our Wooll almoſt as cheap as our-ſelves can buy it. But were the Trade laid open, *Engliſhmen* might ſtill buy their wooll at reaſonable prices, but ſtrangers muſt pay the dearer for it: as the cuſtome, Officers fees, fraight, factorage, and other charges amount unto; which will perhaps be equal to the firſt penny paid for the Wooll it ſelf. Thus ſtrangers ſhall pay twice as much for our Wooll as the *Engliſh* clothier, who therefore may underſel them, and make more advantage in the price of his Cloth by the exportation of Wooll, then ever he did by the prohibition of it.

4. My next reaſon againſt the hindring Exportation of Wool is, becauſe by our forefathers it never was prohibited, unleſs upon ſome great occaſion, and for ſome ſmall time, till *Anno* 1647. and then alſo upon pretence, that there was not Wool enough to furniſh our own neceſſities. Which (if true) might be becauſe of the great deſtruction of Sheep by the Wars. Yet there ſeems to be an other ground for that act: The government of that time, having been aſſiſted in the civil Wars by great numbers of the Wooll-workmen, (who liked much better to Rob, and plunder for halfe-a-crown a day, then toile at a melancholy work for ſixpence a day) to incourage and reward them, I ſay, & to weaken the Gentry they made this prohibition. But to make this reaſon good, let us run over the whole Hiſtory, or as much as we can finde, either in our Acts of Parliament or creditable Hiſtorians concerning this Wooll buſineſs, with all convenient brevity.

§. 1. Tho there were ſeveral ordinances concerning Wooll in other Kings Reigns, yet the Prince did not ſeriouſly begin to ſet himſelf to make the beſt advantage of Wool, till the ninth of *Edward* the third, at which time all Wooll-workers were

were invited to come and ſettle in *England*, to have places aſſign'd them, many privileges and liberties granted, and wages from the King, till they could gain a livelyhood by their art &c. whereupon many *Flemings* and others, chiefly Subjects to the Duke of *Burgundy*, repaired hither, and ſet up the manufacture of Wool in *England*.

§. 2. 11. *E.* 3. c. 4. It was made felony to carry Wool out of the Realm, till otherwiſe ordain'd. This prohibition (ſaith *Speed*) was made to ſhew the *Flemings* the neceſſity they had of leaguing with *England*, as ſoon after they did; and the prohibition was taken off. or, as *Walſingham* ſaies, to humble the *Flemings*; *qui plus ſaccos quam Anglos venerabantur*. The ſame year it was enacted (no doubt for the better vending their Wool, the Exportation whereof being prohibited, made it of ſmall value at home) that none ſhould wear other then *Engliſh* Cloth; Except the *King*, *Queen*, and their Children. But perſons of ſuch degrees might uſe forein furs, and face part of their garments with Silk. Alſo that no beyond Sea Cloths ſhould be brought into *England*; and that forein Cloth-workers ſhould have ſeveral priviledges. Whereupon (ſaies *Speed*) many preſently came over.

§. 2. 14. *E.* 3. Was granted to rhe King the 9th Lamb, 9th Fleece, and 9th Sheaf for two Years: alſo 40s upon every ſack of Wooll and 40s upon every 300 Woolfels tranſported: (ſome ſay alſo that not long before this, was granted to the *King* half the Wooll of the Communality, and nine marks upon every ſack of Wool of the Clergy.) By theſe great ſubſidies it is probable, the King had great quantity of Wooll upon his hands: and about this time the *King* ſent the *Biſhop* of *Lincoln* into *Flanders* with 10000 ſacks of Wooll; which he ſold for 20 pound ſterling a Sack. (*Knighton.*) And in his fifteenth year ordained, that no Merchant or other ſhould carry any Woolls out of the Realm till after *Michaelmas* (by which time tis probable he had ſold his own;) but after that every Merchand, Stranger, or other, might free-

ly buy and export his Wooll, paying the due cuſtomes; and that thoſe, who had Woolls, ſhould be compelled to ſell them according to the price and ſort, in the Country; to accompliſh the Wools granted to the *King*, which afterwards was diſanulled.

§. 4. 23. *E.* 3. The *King* ſtopt the Woolls in the land till the Merchants had fined with him for the ſame. (*Holinſh.*) 26. *E.* 3. the ſtaple was brought to *London*, to the loſs of the Merchands but advantage of the *King* who got by it 1200 pound that year. *Knighton.*

§. 5. 27. *E.* 3. This year a great advantage befel the Nation; for (becauſe the young Earle of *Flanders* maried not with the *King's* Daughter, as he had promiſed; but with the Daughter of *France*: or becauſe the *Flemings* obſerved not the agreements, which the *King* made in the life-time of *Jaques de Arteville* who procured of the *King* that the Marts might be kept in ſeveral Towns in *Flanders*) the *King* removed the Staples and Marts of wooll from the *Earls* Towns, eſtabliſhing them in ſeveral Towns of *England*: *Newcaſtle*, *Canterbury*, &c. Some of which, not being Port-Towns, he afterwards changed for ſuch: and withall regulated the whole trade with certain ordinances; for which I refer you to the Statutes.

§. 6. 27. *E.* 3. 5os were given the *King* by Act of Parliament on every ſack of wooll tranſported. By which grant it was thought the *King* receaved 1000 marks *per diem*, *Holin.*

§. 7. 37. *E.* 3. The Staple was removed to *Callice*; putting the Town into the hands of certain Merchants, (that the Trade might be the more ſecure for them.) And not long after it was again returned to Towns in *England*; but moſt of them Port-Towns, for it was very uſual to remove the Staples. *Holin.* 38. *Ed.* 3. was granted to the King 26s. 8d of every ſack of wooll tranſported for 3. years.

§. 8. What was ordained by our ſucceeding Princes was either in conformation or regulation of what was already eſtabliſhed: according to the advantage of the *King* and People:

But

But that is very remarkable which is recorded by *Hen. de Knighton 14. R. 2.* being a caſe ſomewhat like ours at this preſent. He, deſcribing a great dearth and calamity of the poor in this Nation, tho there was Corn enough laid up in private hands to ſerve the whole Nation five years; neither was the Corn then at any extraordinary price: at laſt gives the reaſon of it to be want of money, and this he aſcribes to the not vending our wooll; whereof he ſaies ſome men had *3*, others 4 years, wooll upon their hands: tho now there be many who have 5 years-wooll unſold. And this came to paſs, ſaith he, becauſe the *Engliſh* Merchants were forbid tranſporting wooll: wherefore the year following liberty was granted them to tranſport wooll whither they pleaſed. In thoſe daies, ſaith he, wooll was ſo cheap that a ſtone of the beſt choſen wooll was ſold for 3ˢ and in *Leiſter* for 2ˢ or 20ᵈ pence. Now three ſhillings in thoſe daies was as much as 9ˢ at preſent; and therefore dearer by 3ˢ a ſtone then it is ſold for at preſent, 6ˢ being a good price at this time.

§. 9. 8. *H. 6.* An act was made to regulate the Merchand-ſtrangers, who exported our wooll, and *An. 27. H. 6.* It was decreed, that till our Cloths were accepted in *Brabant*, no marchandice growing or wrought there ſhould be brought into *England* upon pain of forfeiture.

§. 10. 3. *E.* 4. An act was made concerning exportation of wooll, and then it was likewiſe ordered; that no cloth wrought beyond Sea ſhould be brought into *England*: none ſhould buy woolls (except he wrought it himſelf) till after *Bartholmewtide*: and 22. *H.* 8. not till after the Aſcenſion of our Lady: nor a ſtranger before the Purification; no woollen yarne or cloth ſhould be exported unfull'd; and 3. *H.* 8. none undreſſed. And *an.* 1 of Queen *Mary*, as alſo in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth* their Parliaments gave them 33ˢ 4ᵈ on every ſack of wooll, and every 240 woolfells tranſported by a Native: & 3 pound. 6ˢ-8ᵈ on the ſame tranſported by ſtrangers; and this to continue during their lives.

§. 11. *An.* 1. *Jac.* A ſubſidy upon wooll tranſported was granted the *King* for his life-time: a denizen was to pay 33s. 4d. a ſtranger 3 pound 6s 8d for every ſack. And there has not been a Prince from *Ed.* 3. to *Ch.* 1. who have not gained conſiderable revenues by the exporting wooll.

III. Out of which collections you may obſerve:

1. That this wooll-trade beyond Sea was alwaies accounted a very great advantage both to the *King* and Subjects. Which was the reaſon, why it was ſo carefully managed, and more laws about it then any one Subject whatſoever. Nay ſcarce has there been any Parliament, ſince the beginning of *E.* 3. wherein ſomwhat hath not been eſtabliſhed concerning it.

2. That no abſolute prohibition of exporting it was ever enacted till the Reign of *Char.* 1. nor then, till *1647.* at which time neither could he be ſaid to Reign. Temporary ones indeed there have been; but thoſe of ill conſequence to the Nation.

3. That ſumptuary laws concerning wearing, vending our Cloth, and the like, were alwaies enacted *paripaſſu* with thoſe concerning wooll-working. For it is very advantagious to the Kingdom, that much of it ſhould be ſpent here. Whereby many workmen would be maintained, and leſs forein unneceſſary trifles imported, which now take away much of our money.

4. That it was thought ſufficient advantage to the Nation that they might buy wooll when and where they pleaſed; but whatſoever wooll, was ſold, (~~of~~ by Strangers eſpecially:) was not ſold till after a certain time fixed. That it was not to be bought by Brokers; that what was bought by foreiners to be exported paid greater duties then what was bought by the Natitves. which cautions alone, if well regulated, would render the exportation at this day very advantageous; certainly much more then to let it putrify and moth-eat in our ſtore-houſes.

5. My next reaſon for the permiſſion of Exportation is, be-

cauſe

cauſe it will better his Majeſties cuſtomes: for it being impoſſible abſolutely to hinder the exportation, (Men naturally inclining to run any hazard rather then apparent beggary, by ſuffering their goods to periſh in their hands) the cuſtoms muſt of neceſſity be leſſened. What periſhes unwrought, and what is exported by ſtealth, pay no cuſtome. But beſides this, it was the frequent uſe of our Fathers to help the Prince and eaſe the Subject by impoſing taxes upon the wooll Exported. Somtimes 5os a pack; ſometimes more, as occaſion required, which was the ordinary way; being alſo a moſt eaſy one, of gratifying the Prince. If it be anſwered the cuſtomes would advance much more if the wooll were exported in manufacture; we confeſs, and ſeriouſly deſire, that our wooll were manufactured, and ſo exported and ſold. Tho this was never yet done in *England*, nor do I think can be. But our queſtion here is concerning our ſuperfluous wooll: which remains after we have here made, or vended what we can; after the Cloth-market is furniſhed; or our workmens hands all emploied.

6. The reaſon of the decay of Clothing is not exportation of wooll as *W. C.* ſuppoſes, but the contrary. For the decay (if any be) is ſince this prohibition: ſo that by hindring this we apply a wrong remedy to the diſeaſe. But it proceeds from diverſe other cauſes; as firſt, becauſe other Nations have of late improved their manufactures, as we did in *Edward* the thirds time: the *Dutch* ever ſince 1616. the *French* now lately, both of them working very acurately, if not more, then our ſelves, as well as more honeſtly, by the confeſſion of thoſe of our own Nation. Secondly, Cloth is not ſo much worne in theſe parts of the World as formerly. It not being now ſo convenient a wear, as when our faſhions were conſtant. Our Clothes then were made ſtrong to endure many years, and a great part of the great-mens inventories then were their ward-robes left as Legacies to their beſt Friends, and Children, who did not deſpiſe to wear the Clothes of their Anceſtors.

Where-

Whereas now the Mode hardly enduring two months, ſlight ſtuffes are ſufficient. Beſides, when the cuſtome was for men to wear gowns, cloaks, and other looſe garments, ſubſtantial Cloath was more proper then now it is, for little breeches and a cloſe coat. To ſecond which humor of the times Silks and Stuffs are imported in greater abundance, ſold at eaſier rates, then formerly; and manufactures of them ſet up in our own Nation; by which the beautifulleſt and lighteſt garments are become allmoſt the cheapeſt alſo. Which I fear will render it difficult to reconcile the Mode to Cloath, tho much to be deſired. Thirdly, we have more Sheep in *England* then formerly, becauſe of the drayning the fens and other grounds; and the laying down of Tillage, for the cheapneſs of Corn till theſe two late years. Fourthly, *Iriſh* Cattle being prohibited, they breed more Sheep, and bring in more wooll into *England*, beſides what they ſend beyond Sea: which will infallibly bring our lands in *England* as low as thoſe in *Ireland*, i. e. to as low a rent, and to as few years value in the purchas, nay lower: if they be ſuffered, Firſt to glut *England* with their wooll, and then to furniſh the markets beyond-ſea; yet we prohibited the ſame priviledge: which is our preſent condition. And undoubtedly the forbidding *Iriſh* Cattle has been of vaſt inconvenience, not only to the beſt of *England*, the feeding-lands; but to it all in general. By leſſening the value of our Wooll: in which even the breeding-lands receive more loſs by the low price of their wooll, then they reap advantage by this Act in the price of their Cattle. this Act alſo is injurious to the Nation by ſending our own and forein Merchant Ships to Victual in *Ireland*; by the want of returns from thence; by loſs of our Trade for Hopps, Hides, Butter, Cheeſe, &c. which trades now are taken up by the *Iriſh* to the ruine of many Counties of *England*; by diſcouraging Navigation for it is ſaid 100 of our Ships were continually employed in this Traffick of lean Cattle. And laſtly by diſcouraging our Clothiers and other manufacturers; who ſince they

they muſt live out of their labours, the dearer they pay for their diet the more they muſt have for their work. This *Iriſh* Act therefore making our Beef dear, yet the *Dutch* having it from *Ireland* delivered in *Holland* for about a penny a pound, they may afford their Cloth cheaper then poſſibly we can: which will ſpeedily enable them to get from us alſo our forein Clothing-trade, and be an irreparable damage to this Kingdom: if the Parliament in their wiſdome do not prevent it. Thus this Act, which in its preface deſigns the advancing our rents & enriching *England*, has leſſened and impoveriſhed both; has compelled *Ireland* to ſeek a way to live without us; has made it almoſt independent of *England*; has infine almoſt ruined both Nations: but to our purpoſe. Fifthly, I omit the many deceits in Cloth-making, which *W. C.* confeſſeth to have been of late ſo very much practiſed, that our Clothes looſe greatly of their ancient reputation beyond-ſea to the infinite prejudice of our Trade: and I have bin informed that this was the firſt occaſion, which put the *French* upon making Clothes and Stuffs of their own. But for the various abuſes of this kind I refer you to a little Book called the *Golden Fleece* by *W. S.* and I am informed that the *Dutch*, taking occaſion from our diſhoneſt work-manſhip, have vended their own worſt Cloth for right *Engliſh* Cloth; and thereby have got from us much of our trade, and great reputation to themſelves. Sixthly, the Sword, Plague, forein Colonies, and repeopling *Ireland* have of late years much diminiſhed our ſtock of People: therefore the conſumption of the commodities is leſs. for if we do not vend our wooll-manufactures, the reaſon muſt be; either becauſe we make more of them, or becauſe there is leſs of them uſed then formerly. If we make more (as ſome with good reaſon think we do) the trade increaſeth; and tho it being in many hands, particular perſons grow not ſo rich, yet the Clothing in general flouriſheth, and the greater numbers are ſet on work. But the contrary to this *W. C.* ſeems to affirm. He muſt therefore grant we want vent for our Cloth

when

Whereas now the Mode hardly enduring two months, ſlight ſtuffes are ſufficient. Beſides, when the cuſtome was for men to wear gowns, cloaks, and other looſe garments, ſubſtantial Cloath was more proper then now it is, for little breeches and a cloſe coat. To ſecond which humor of the times Silks and Stuffs are imported in greater abundance, ſold at eaſier rates, then formerly; and manufactures of them ſet up in our own Nation; by which the beautifulleſt and lighteſt garments are become allmoſt the cheapeſt alſo. Which I fear will render it difficult to reconcile the Mode to Cloath, tho much to be deſired. Thirdly, we have more Sheep in *England* then formerly, becauſe of the drayning the fens and other grounds; and the laying down of Tillage, for the cheapneſs of Corn till theſe two late years. Fourthly, *Iriſh* Cattle being prohibited, they breed more Sheep, and bring in more wooll into *England*, beſides what they ſend beyond Sea: which will infallibly bring our lands in *England* as low as thoſe in *Ireland*, i. e. to as low a rent, and to as few years value in the purchas, nay lower: if they be ſuffered, Firſt to glut *England* with their wooll, and then to furniſh the markets beyond-ſea; yet we prohibited the ſame priviledge: which is our preſent condition. And undoubtedly the forbidding *Iriſh* Cattle has been of vaſt inconvenience, not only to the beſt of *England*, the feeding-lands; but to it all in general. By leſſening the value of our Wooll: in which even the breeding-lands receive more loſs by the low price of their wooll, then they reap advantage by this Act in the price of their Cattle. this Act alſo is injurious to the Nation by ſending our own and forein Merchant Ships to Victual in *Ireland*; by the want of returns from thence; by loſs of our Trade for Hopps, Hides, Butter, Cheeſe, &c. which trades now are taken up by the *Iriſh* to the ruine of many Counties of *England*; by diſcouraging Navigation for it is ſaid 100 of our Ships were continually employed in this Traffick of lean Cattle. And laſtly by diſcouraging our Clothiers and other manufacturers; who ſince

they

they muſt live out of their labours, the dearer they pay for their diet the more they muſt have for their work. This *Iriſh* Act therefore making our Beef dear, yet the *Dutch* having it from *Ireland* delivered in *Holland* for about a penny a pound, they may afford their Cloth cheaper then poſſibly we can: which will ſpeedily enable them to get from us alſo our forein Clothing-trade, and be an irreparable damage to this Kingdom: if the Parliament in their wiſdome do not prevent it. Thus this Act, which in its preface deſigns the advancing our rents & enriching *England*, has leſſened and impoveriſhed both; has compelled *Ireland* to ſeek a way to live without us; has made it almoſt independent of *England*; has infine almoſt ruined both Nations: but to our purpoſe. Fifthly, I omit the many deceits in Cloth-making, which *W. C.* confeſſeth to have been of late ſo very much practiſed, that our Clothes looſe greatly of their ancient reputation beyond-ſea to the infinite prejudice of our Trade: and I have bin informed that this was the firſt occaſion, which put the *French* upon making Clothes and Stuffs of their own. But for the various abuſes of this kind I refer you to a little Book called the *Golden Fleece* by *W. S.* and I am informed that the *Dutch*, taking occaſion from our diſhoneſt work-manſhip, have vended their own worſt Cloth for right *Engliſh* Cloth; and thereby have got from us much of our trade, and great reputation to themſelves. Sixthly, the Sword, Plague, forein Colonies, and repeopling *Ireland* have of late years much diminiſhed our ſtock of People: therefore the conſumption of the commodities is leſs. for if we do not vend our wooll-manufactures, the reaſon muſt be; either becauſe we make more of them, or becauſe there is leſs of them uſed then formerly. If we make more (as ſome with good reaſon think we do) the trade increaſeth; and tho it being in many hands, particular perſons grow not ſo rich, yet the Clothing in general flouriſheth, and the greater numbers are ſet on work. But the contrary to this *W. C.* ſeems to affirm. He muſt therefore grant we want vent for our Cloth

when

when made. But will the prohibiting exportation cauſe more vent? if the *Dutch* can work cheaper, better, and more honeſtly then we, will they not underſel us, and ſteal away our trade? If the *French* can make ſtuffs of their own (as both they and the *Dutch* do) without our wooll, andp rohibite our Cloth to be ſold amongſt them, ſhall we force them to buy of us? If the *Italians* and *French* make and ſell multitudes of fine and gaudy ſilks at a cheap rate, can we perſwade people not to prefer them? But if we want either hands to work the vaſt ſtocks of our own wooll, and that which dayly overwhelms us from *Ireland*, or vent to diſpoſe of it, what muſt become of the ſuperfluity of our woo'l? Muſt the Farmer and Graſier bear all the loſs? No, the Land-lord muſt abate of his rent, or the farm thrown into his hands; the Tenant being poor, half ruined by his loſſes, his Land-lord takes the farm, and at length having to his Tenants misfortunes, added thoſe inconveniencies of entruſting ſervants, &c. He muſt ſplit on the ſame rock; his wooll lies on his hands till he comes into debt; and in fine the farm muſt be ſold, ſince the wooll bears no price. But the yearly value is ſo much fallen, and there is ſo much land to be ſold on the ſame ſcore, that he deſpairs of a chapman, &c. And this is our preſent condition.

7. This beating down the price of wooll is prejudicial even to the Manufacturers themſelves; becauſe if wooll be cheap, the product of it muſt be ſo too. Cloth muſt bear a proportion to the value of wooll: or if it doth not, the diſadvantage is on the Clothiers ſide. His commodity being ever cryed down beyond meaſure when wooll is cheaper. Beſides the leſs money a trades-man turns for the ſame commodity, the leſs muſt be his gains. The Clothier then making the ſame quantity of Cloth as formerly, and as good, ſelling it for leſs, has none to revenge himſelf on, but the Grazier, and the poor workman, who muſt then work harder or abate of his already too poor wages. Who then gains by this cheapneſs?

they

they only who are ſo eager againſt the Exportation of Wooll; a ſort of Men, who call themſelves Merchants of the ſtaple; but are in truth only brokers: (thoſe Caterpillers of trade, and ſworn Enemies to poor Men; who make their cheif gain of other mens neceſſities;) theſe are ſure to get both by buyer and ſeller, whoſoever looſes. To the Clothier they complain that there is no vent for Cloth, that wooll is ſo cheap they may have Cloth for nothing, till they have bought it at their own rates: but when they come to ſell it to the Draper or Merchant, they then change their note. Wooll ſo dear that poor Clothiers can hardly go to the price of it &c. Theſe and a thouſand other artifices they uſe to ſcrape from both ſides.

IV. To ſome of theſe reaſons *W. C.* pretends to anſwer, tho in ſuch a manner as 'tis hard to conceive what the Man would ſay. To what has been ſaid concerning the Farmer and Graziers not being able to pay their rent, &c. From which ſo many ill conſequences follow; I think he anſwers: that the principal comodity, out of which they raiſe their rent, is not wooll but the Carcas and corn; and that the more Men are ſet on work, the more corn and fleſh is ſpent; ſo the farmers and graziers mouths are made np that way. To which it is eaſily replied, that a Farmer makes not up his rent out of his principal, but all, his comodities: and it is an ill argument, this is not the principal advantage or profit, therefore you may part from it. Beſides Farmers have families alſo, which muſt be maintained, their Widows muſt not be ſtarved, nor their Daughters married without ſome portions. Suppoſe the ſmaller profits be laid aſide for theſe: yet let me tell you that a Grazier, whoſe ſtock do's not conſiſt more then uſually of beaſts, muſt pay at leaſt half, and in ſome Counties all, his Rent with the price of his Wooll; or he will live very uncomfortably. But in that great rot which happened about 5 years agoe, in moſt part of *England* (and the like may happen again, for which ſome proviſion ought to be made in good years) I beſeech you, which was the principal comodity?

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

What was the flesh worth? And for Corn; the low price of wooll hath made so many apply to husbandry, that usually corn do's hardly bear any price wherewith to pay his rent. What he saies of the great number of people set on work upon the superfluous Wooll, that would make flesh and Corn dear, is surely in mockery of the poor laborious Farmers and Graziers. Who presently imagine some great Inundation of new men like Locusts, yet with money in their purses, that would presently buy up and devour all the fruits of the ground: and even their wooll also for their backs, as well as victuals for their bellies. But upon examination they'l find no encreas of Men by this mighty manufacture; but some few hands, now employed in other work, to turn to weaving, spinning, &c: They'l find no more bellies nor backs then formerly, and their corn at as low a price as it was before. Corn I say, for the Clothiers wages will not much enrich either Butcher or Grazier.

2. Another objection against what has been said, is the great number maintained by the wooll-manufacture: four fifts of the Nation, saith *W. C.* which except he take in the Farmers & Graziers is an extravagant proportion. But this objection is wholly impertinent. It is not material to the point in hand how many are maintained by wooll-work, but how many more would be maintained by working up the superfluous wooll, that, I mean, which either perishes or is clandestinly exported. And these are not so many as the maintenance ought, in any wise, to be put in ballance either with the Farmers and Graziers, or Gentry and Land-lords of this Nation.

The Cloth for our own use we still spend, and the Merchants transport more to some Countries then formerly: so that our loss is only what was usually sent into *France* and *Holland*. *W. C.* saies four fifts of the Nation are concerned in the interest that wooll be not exported. *London* it self contains about 5 ~~Millions~~ hundred and persons, do we think any Child so simple as to believe 4 of these 5 ~~millions~~ 00000 are concerned about the Exportation of wooll? If he

he ſaies he means the whole woollen-trade, that alſo is falſe. But what is that to our queſtion about ſuperfluous wooll? let there be ſtrict laws, and ſeverely executed, for the uſe of wool in our own Nation: let the *Iriſh* Act for prohibiting importation of Cattle be repealed, that we may be no more oppreſſed with wooll from thence; and it would be found neither the number of workmen, nor of People will be leſſened by exporting our ſuperfluous wooll. Nay I make a great queſtion, whether the number of workmen be leſſened ſince the woollen-trade ſickned, unleſs by ſome accident. he that conſiders the great number of Silk-workers now in the Nation, (a clothing not of that ſubſtance and duration as Cloth, therefore requires more hands, to ſupply us with new) and that Cloth-working, which was formerly confined to Corporations, is now frequent in Villages: will either be of my opinion, or ſuſpend his aſſent to the contrary: and then what becomes of this great clamor of maintaing ſo many People, and ſo many poor? Since there are not ſo many looſe by exportation of wooll, but they may eaſily betake themſelves to other callings.

3. But concerning maintaining the poor, I have ſaid before; that where there is moſt manufacture there is either allwaies, or for the moſt part, more poor: the reaſons are plain. It is true indeed that the firſt introducing a manufacture emploies many poor, but they ceaſe not to be ſo; and the continuance of it makes many: and the departing of it to an other place caries moſt of them with it. But the decay of it being inſenſible, the poor by degrees are otherwiſe provided for, and rather mend their fortunes then make them worſe by the loſs of their trade. But for the whole Nation, why is it not better to ſet up ſuch a trade as wil employ all our working people, increaſe our Shipping, and enrich our Men, then to endeavour a thing impoſſible, (hindring exportation of wooll?) force nature? ty up the Sea and winds? to ſtrive againſt the ſtream and current of the times? I mean the Herring-fiſhing, which will both make amends for the ſmall decay of our cloth-

What was the flesh worth? And for Corn; the low price of wooll hath made so many apply to husbandry, that usually corn do's hardly bear any price wherewith to pay his rent. What he saies of the great number of people set on work upon the superfluous Wooll, that would make flesh and Corn dear, is surely in mockery of the poor laborious Farmers and Graziers. Who presently imagine some great Inundation of new men like Locusts, yet with money in their purses, that would presently buy up and devour all the fruits of the ground: and even their wooll also for their backs, as well as victuals for their bellies. But upon examination they'l find no encreas of Men by this mighty manufacture; but some few hands, now employed in other work, to turn to weaving, spinning, &c: They'l find no more bellies nor backs then formerly, and their corn at as low a price as it was before. Corn I say, for the Clothiers wages will not much enrich either Butcher or Grazier.

2. Another objection against what has been said, is the great number maintained by the wooll-manufacture: four fifts of the Nation, saith *W. C.* which except he take in the Farmers & Graziers is an extravagant proportion. But this objection is wholly impertinent. It is not material to the point in hand how many are maintained by wooll-work, but how many more would be maintained by working up the superfluous wooll, that, I mean, which either perishes or is clandestinly exported. And these are not so many as the maintenance ought, in any wise, to be put in ballance either with the Farmers and Graziers, or Gentry and Land-lords of this Nation.

The Cloth for our own use we still spend, and the Merchants transport more to some Countries then formerly: so that our loss is only what was usually sent into *France* and *Holland*. *W. C.* saies four fifts of the Nation are concerned in the interest that wooll be not exported. *London* it self contains about 5 ~~millions~~ hundred thousand persons, do we think any Child so simple as to believe 4 of these 5 millions are concerned about the Exportation of wooll? If

he

he ſaies he means the whole woollen-trade, that alſo is falſe. But what is that to our queſtion about ſuperfluous wooll? let there be ſtrict laws, and ſeverely executed, for the uſe of wool in our own Nation: let the *Iriſh* Act for prohibiting importation of Cattle be repealed, that we may be no more oppreſſed with wooll from thence; and it would be found neither the number of workmen, nor of People will be leſſened by exporting our ſuperfluous wooll. Nay I make a great queſtion, whether the number of workmen be leſſened ſince the woollen-trade ſickned, unleſs by ſome accident. he that conſiders the great number of Silk-workers now in the Nation, (a clothing not of that ſubſtance and duration as Cloth, therefore requires more hands, to ſupply us with new) and that Cloth-working, which was formerly confined to Corporations, is now frequent in Villages: will either be of my opinion, or ſuſpend his aſſent to the contrary: and then what becomes of this great clamor of maintaing ſo many People, and ſo many poor? Since there are not ſo many looſe by exportation of wooll, but they may eaſily betake themſelves to other callings.

3. But concerning maintaining the poor, I have ſaid before; that where there is moſt manufacture there is either all-waies, or for the moſt part, more poor: the reaſons are plain. It is true indeed that the firſt introducing a manufacture emploies many poor, but they ceaſe not to be ſo; and the continuance of it makes many: and the departing of it to an other place caries moſt of them with it. But the decay of it being inſenſible, the poor by degrees are otherwiſe provided for, and rather mend their fortunes then make them worſe by the loſs of their trade. But for the whole Nation, why is it not better to ſet up ſuch a trade as wil employ all our working people, increaſe our Shipping, and enrich our Men, then to endeavour a thing impoſſible, (hindring exportation of wooll?) force nature? ty up the Sea and winds? to ſtrive againſt the ſtream and current of the times? I mean the Herring-fiſhing, which will both make amends for the ſmall decay of our cloth-

working, and revenge our ſelves againſt the *Dutch* for ſtealing our manufacture; by fairly and juſtly making uſe of our own liberty and power to which nature has by our ſituation ſo long invited us. Our Cloth-working may again return, as all things and all trades have their ebbs and flows. Were not our Archers in ancient times the great glory of the Nation? renowned for gaining many ſignal battles againſt our Enemies? what laws have we for importing bow-ſtaves? and what great number of Families were maintained by that trade, &c. whereas now neither are there Archers, nor bowyers, nor bow-ſtaves, hardly in the whole Kingdom. I wiſh we do not too ſoon repent the diſuſe of thoſe our famous weapons: to prevent which Q. *Eliz.* used her endeavour both by laws and encouragement (and to ſecond her, Sr. *Tho. Smith* writ an ingenious book in commendation of Archery) the loſs of which weapon I rather lament then hope to recover. But thoſe workmen doubtleſs provided themſelves other trades as Archery decaied: and this age feels no want of emploiment from that decay: neither will the next from that of clothing. But cloth may perhaps come again into requeſt, and then the tentered, thin *Dutch*-cloth, the light ſearges of *France*, and the effeminate Silks of *Italy* may be deſpiſed. Perhaps alſo (which I ſee his *Majeſty* moſt prudently endeavours) ſome new trading place may be diſcovered, which may take off our Cloth in greater abundance then *France* or *Holland* did. Or if this happen not, yet by applying our ſelves to fiſhing, we ſhall in ſhort time think our preſent failure an happy increaſe. Our wooll has ever been accounted the great riches of the Kingdom. By *Pol. Virgil England* is call'd *terra de lana*, and our wool the Golden-fleece; by reaſon of the great quantity of Gold and Silver which came in yearly to buy it. Yet in the Sea at our doores lie greater treaſures then in our wool: if we were not ſo ſlothful as to ſuffer our neighbours to Rob us of it, whilſt we ſtand idle ſpectators of our ruine.

4. It is alſo objected that the *French* and *Dutch* may in time work us out of trading in other parts by underſelling us: they under-

undermine us, 'tis true, not by underſelling us conſtantly, but by underſelling us chiefly at firſt: and their trading being in ſocieties and companies their loſſes are ſhared amongſt ſo many, that a ſmall one is hardly felt by any. wherefore if they find we have a ſettled trade in any place, they ſell firſt to their own loſs, and when by this means they have beaten us out, they raiſe their price higher then we did. Which prohibiting exportation will not hinder: there being no way of blowing up this mine of theirs, but by ſuch a countermine of our own. If the *Dutch* have either more skill in making Cloth, or by faring more hardly, or having proviſion cheaper from *Ireland*, and taking leſs fraight, can afford their Cloth cheaper; they muſt of neceſſity in time beat us out of trade, unleſs we learn to work or live as they do. But if all the ſuperfluous wooll had a good price, and good cuſtome ſet upon it, would it not be a good antidote againſt this underſelling us? I am ſure it would againſt their underſelling us by what they make of our wooll, and far better then endeavouring to force the ſtream and fighting with Impoſſibility.

5. It has been demanded by ſome, ſince our Clothiers cannot work out our woolls, what is become of the wooll which lay on the Graziers hands in *An.* 1666. at which time, ſay they, there was as great quantity unſold as at preſent. Tho this I might in part deny: yet I will grant, that great quantities did then ly upon our hands; becauſe during the War and the plague there was little of it wrought in our own, and leſs exported into forein Countries; the King of *France* at that time commanded all the *Engliſh* wooll which came into his dominions (which was no ſmall quantity) to be burnt for fear of infection. And therefore the War and Plague ceaſing, our wooll was again in greater meaſure tranſported to foreiners then before. It can not therefore be concluded that our Clothiers can manufacture all the Wooll of *England*, becauſe at this juncture we had more, and afterwards leſs wooll upon our hands. But we ſtill looſe the point which is concerning ſuper-

fluous

fluous wooll only. if the Clothiers can work it all, let them do it; we ſhall all rejoice at it: if they cannot, I hope they will acknowledge themſelves unreaſonable if they oppoſe what we requeſt.

6. Laſtly they urge that the *French* cannot make any, except very courſe Cloth, without our wooll. Which I deny and appeal to them, who know any thing of the South parts of *France*, whether they make not good Cloth at, and about *Carcaſſone*, *Bourge en Berry* and diverſe other places without the help of our woolls? Some *Turky* Merchants know alſo, that their *Carcaſon* Cloth findes good prices, and many buyers in the Levant. But grant it true, that they can make but little beſides courſe cloth without our wooll, and ſuppoſe it were poſſible to keep our wooll from them; yet if they will be content to wear their own courſe Cloth (as moſt certainly they will and muſt) rather then buy ours, what ſhall the not-exporting wooll advantage the Clothier or the Merchant? I would fain ask thoſe who are ſo unwilling to have wooll exported, whether they will give ſecurity to take of all the wooll yearly growing in the Nation at a reaſonable rate, ſuppoſe 10. pound *per* Pack: but if they refuſe, let them not think it reaſonable the poor Grazier, and Farmor, or indeed the Land-lord muſt bear all the loſs and damage. 'Tis too great a burthen on them, who already bear the cheif and almoſt only burthen of the Nation.

V. For remedy of all the diſorders in this matter, I ſhall propoſe nothing but what I conceive the laws of the Nation and Acts of Parliament enjoin. As,

1. That thoſe, who work up our wooll in *England* may buy when and where they pleaſe, and as cheap as they can.

2. That no broker or foreſtaller ſhall be ſuffered to buy wooll, but that it ſhall be bought either by the Clothier himſelf, or the Exporter; but not by any man to ſell it again in *England* unleſs in ſuch Towns as *Halifax*, &c. Where the poor workmen are not able to buy any conſiderable quantities, as formerly it was.

3. The

3. That no Merchant ſtranger ſhall be ſuffered to buy any Wooll till *All-Saints* or St. *Martins-day*: but then any may buy and export what they pleaſe.

4. That every ſack of Wooll, that is exported, ſhall pay ſuch cuſtomes to the *King* as the Parliament in their wiſdom ſhall think meet.

5. That no Man under ſuch a degree as ſhall be judged meet ſhall wear other then woollen outward garments.

6. That all forein woollen and Silk-manufactures whatever be confiſcate.

7. That proviſion be made for vending our Cloth beyond Sea: and a prohibition made of the Comodities coming from ſuch Countries as refuſe our Cloth; as the Parliament ſhall think fit, according to the example of former times.

8. That the *Iriſh* wooll be prevented from coming into *England*, unleſs in order to its ſale to ſtrangers.

9. That the multitude of Acts for Cloth-working be reduced into one plain, clear law remedying the innumerable abuſes in mingling, Carding, Spinning, Weaving, Scouring, Milling, Rowing, Tentring, Dying, &c. Which done, it 'twill be eaſy to prevent exporting undreſſed and undyed Clothes. Of which Sr. *Walter Raleigh* juſtly complains, as prejudicial to the Kingdom.

10. That the Aulnager may be countenanced in, and be put in mind of, duely executing his office; not ſuffering his ſeals to be ſold by dozens to Clothiers and Shearmen to fix to their own Clothes at their pleaſure, without being meaſured or viſited.

11. That no *Engliſh*-man be permitted to ſet up for himſelf in relation to clothing till he have ſerved 7 years apprenticeſhip at the trade. Which will leſſen the out-cry of Clothiers for want of work, encourage honeſt and skilful work-wen, and give credit to the employment, which now is diſgraced by thoſe whom ignorance, not an ill trade, reduces to neceſſity. and finally it will give reputation to our Cloths) which for

want.

want of it have much loſt their vent beyond-ſea as well as in our own Nation.

12. That for encreaſe of our People a voluntary regiſter be permitted, and liberty, given to all ſtrangers to buy lands, to ſet up manufacture at their pleaſure, and to live with freedom, liberty, and the priviledges, of *Engliſh*-men. Following in this the excellent example of great *King* Ed. 3d that there be care taken to prevent idleneſs, ſo frequent in this Nation ſince *Qeen Elizabeths* Acts for releiving beggars: a thing moſt piouſly deſigned; yet proving an encouragement to theivery and Idleneſs, a charge to the induſtrious inhabitants of every Pariſh, and an injury to the whole Nation.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE

FINIS.